264 Then follows the warm midday meal which takes place between twelve and five o'clock, depending on when the woman returns from the plantation. The main meal, which is fairly substantial, occurs in the evening. This is not just one meal, however; the women have to cook two or three times and, indeed, even in the middle of the night in order to appease the hungry stomachs. They frequently deviate from this "rule," to be sure. If the store of provisions is ample and there is little work to do, they eat the whole day long; on the other hand, if anything comes up, they just as readily omit meals or fast an entire day.

In the main, meals consist of cassava and plantains. In addition to these, any of the other foods mentioned may be eaten, whatever is on hand.

Men and women usually eat separately. The woman takes care of herself as she is cooking and helps herself even to the men's food which is not meant for her, or she eats with her daughters and younger sons after she has sent the midday meal to her husband in the meeting house where the older boys also gather for food. /161/ On the other hand, the husband habitually goes home to take the late evening meal in the family circle, since by then it has become too cold or lonesome in the meeting house.

At all times, the Pangwe man eats quietly and with dignity, not without appreciative smacking of the lips and constant talking, however. Greedy eating (a ŝy̆ban a dzĭ) seems ridiculous and unbecoming to the Pangwe and is interpreted by him as a sign of bad rearing. Many of the precepts which the father gives his son make this point, and in proverbs and fairy tales (for instance, in the nice fairy tale of Bömme's gluttony, in the story of the greedy pig, and so forth) the same idea recurs.

Tableware is very sparse, as one would expect. In the case of liquid dishes, the cooking pot, if it is small, is placed in the midst of the company straight from the fire; if it is large, its contents are poured into a smaller pot. Everyone takes his spoon and eats from the common vessel. In the evening when the man eats at home, he usually has a pot of his own placed before him. Solid foods, for instance, plantains and cassava cutlets, are served on a banana leaf, and everyone takes them by hand. It is considered more refined to

means: Balinge, son of Ekore."

551 [113] The custom of the Bane of adding the mother's name to one's own, as reported here, is found also among the Jaunde according to Zenker (Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, Vol. 8, p. 50).

Family names in our sense are unknown to the Pangwe. Towards strangers they use the name of the kin group, which is after all to be understood as a "family" in the Pangwe sense; to this, at the same time, is added the name of the mother's familial group. My faithful factotum, Ayong, who has already been presented to the reader in the picture on Plate 3 /Ed., Vol. I/, would, for instance, introduce himself as follows:

[539] ma ne ayŏn-bokă, mǭne esăwŏ́n,
I am Ajong-Boka, child (of the family) Essauong,

mone ngṓn esatŏ̄p.
child (of a) girl (of the) Essatop.

551 867 To learn this complete name by heart is the child's first task. Once the child can recite it without a mistake, the father, proud of the cleverness of his offspring, proceeds to the further task of acquainting the little one with the names of his grandfather and great-grandfather (naturally on the father's side). Let us again take an example.

The child is called Ndungo, his father Essun, from the Abai family, in other words: ndūŋgo-esū́n, mǭne abai, etc., Ndungo of Essun from the Abai family. -- "But from whom am I, Essun, descended?" asks the father. "esū́n-nzĕ́ma, that is, Essun from Nsema," is the answer. "And from whom is Nsema descended = nzĕ́ma nza?" "nzĕ́ma-ngē̆ĕ̆." -- The child learns it all very [181] quickly, because as regards its ability to grasp things /286/, the Negro child is far superior to white children. -- The Pangwe, however, does not stop with the grandfather. Each of these black gentlemen has all his ancestors in his head, just like our feudal lords. To be sure, none of them knows more about them than

551 967 their names. Our Ndungo was able to enumerate eleven ancestors, his father Essun, then Nsema, Ngää, Massoo, Obute, Akiege, Asangui, Awodo, Tulo, Nssim, Okudu.

Generally speaking, the Pangwe probably know on the average eight or ten ancestors by name; not infrequently one even hears 10 or 12, and 14 represented the maximum.

Frequently a lengthy cognomen is added to the last ancestor, which gives the whole a magnificent final effect, somewhat in the way that among us the descendants of a famous man trace their genealogical tree back to him: "I am descended from that person, and his father was called so-and-so, and his father in turn was so-and-so, the famous general who in such-and-such a war won such-and-such a victory." Thus the ancestral table of an Esseng man by the name of Abŏschoo went as follows: Ogbue, Ngumbaschoo, Edu, Ngumu, Bokoo, Motoo, Ossele, Akuschoo Bebe -- ayĕm esĕb ya andŭm = the Akuschoo Bebe, who knew when the dry season comes and when it rains (explanation of the latter part uncertain).

551 539 211 A jocular poem in which a boy poses questions while another answers enumerates no fewer than 21 ancestors:

"o mbe lŭk e vĕ?" -- "a jŏm." "oa
You were driving fish where? -- In the Sannaga. You

vüi dzĕ?" -- "nwŏs."
killed what? -- (A) shrimp.

"za a dzĭ?"
Who it eat? (Who will eat it?) -- "Abele."

"Abele sa?" (= from whom is Abele descended). "Abele-Boka" (Abele is the son of Boka). "Boka bo sa?" "Boka bo Ssissi." "Ssissi sa?" "Ssissi Mening." "Mening sa?" "Mening me Koebe." "Koebe sa?" "Koebe Kum." "Kum sa?" "Kum Otsaa." "Otsaa sa?" "Otsaa Maniodo." "Maniodo sa?" "Maniodo Ssamwinne." "Ssamwinne sa?" "Ssamwinne a Ssongo." "Ssongo sa?" "Ssongo Abui." "Abui sa?" "Abui

551 Nkumu." "Nkumu sa?" Nkumu Bawu." Bawu sa?" "Bawu Otoo."
539 "Otoo sa?" "Otoo Kuboo." "Kuboo sa?" "Kuboo Emwi."
211 "Emwi sa?" "Emwi Abungo." "Abungo sa?" "Abungo a Schiele."
"Schiele sa?" "Schiele Maa." "Maa sa?" "Maa Makama."
"Makama sa?" Makama

me nga bũge nana abũ:
who lived to break (of the) mother the leg,
tsǎ̀s
tsass (onomatopoetic).

551 A remnant of the old aversion of all primitive peoples to
578 mention names, because thereby some kind of mischief might result, can still be observed among the Pangwe. /287/ They do not like to utter their names before strangers, and they find a question about their full names (in other words, including that of the father) tactless, indeed, almost insulting, as I frequently noticed among the Fang who had not had any contact with outsiders. It is also an insult in every respect to remind someone of his ancestors. This need not even be done by name -- since, after all, they do not always know the names -- but can be done with just the words: I shall "show" you your ancestors. This is taken as a threat of sorcery, that is, secret murder, and as though one were telling his enemy in advance that he would kill him and transport him to his ancestors. Such an insult is often avenged with the sword.

2. Child Rearing

861 The child is reared by means of precept and example, rarely by threats, and almost never -- at least only in case of major offenses against morality, such as theft, for instance -- by means of corporal punishment. The result must be termed an extremely good one; Pangwe children behave more tactfully and better than our children of the same age.

867 We are informed by some "experts on the Negro's soul" that
861 the Blacks have no sense of honor. A glance at their family life, however, teaches us the opposite. In rearing the child, the

867 development of a sense of honor -- in the Pangwe sense, of
861 course -- may be called one of the primary rules. The child must learn to fear being shamed as much as our boys fear the rod.

The threats for smaller children up to six or seven years old
861 are limited to simple devices for frightening them known by the
534 name kŏkŏ'-bŏ'ngo III (Jaunde) or bim a si ze bŏ'ngo (southern Pangwe) "things to scare children." The procedure is as follows. In the evening or at night a relative makes some kind of noise in front of the house. The child that is naughty or crying is then warned of the bad man outside. The simplest implement for making a noise is a small tree trunk that is placed on the floor and then alternately and rhythmically stamped and beaten with a mallet. In addition, the person may murmur in a deep voice: "kŏkŏ' nie a ŏ nie (the bad man (kŏkŏ'), he has come)." The implement itself is called -- onomatopoetically -- kăkăkŭ mo III (kă kă = the beating of the mallet, kŭ m = the stamping of the stick on the ground, and at the same time, ekŭ m = tree stump, upright piece of trunk). An even more effective means of scaring children is the uncanny sound of the wooden whizzer (edzibŏ'ngo, "child eater," Fig. 86), often used by men and older boys to frighten the younger ones. Aside from contrivances for making noise, there are /288/ various other means of frightening them, such as the belŏnezŏk or wandering elephant, which, however, I cannot describe in greater detail at this point.

861 A much more important means of education is oral instruc-
867 tion and teaching, imparted in ample measure to the little fellow by both father and mother. The mother tells stories /Fig. 86 appears here in the original text/ of which a number, like the story of the Edschibongo (child eater), are designed to keep the child in fear and at the same time to teach. In the next section I shall devote some attention to these stories; at this point I want to discuss in greater detail the purely educational precepts that are for the most part imparted by the father. These precepts or, as we might say, principles are called malŏbega. They are affirmed daily on every suitable occasion and constantly repeated, so that they become firmly implanted in a boy's head. A number of such principles, which unfold before our mind's eye an unfalsified image

2: Tessmann--157 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

861

[534]

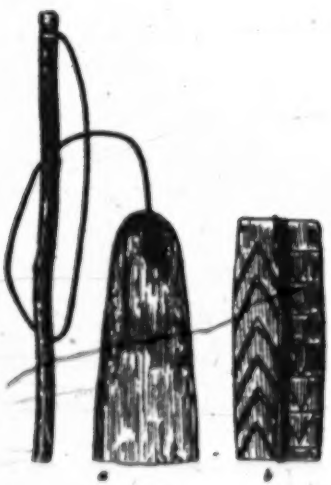

Fig. 86. Whizzers.
(a) With stick; (b) without stick, a string being slung around the wood.

861 of the natives' family life and reveal to us the view of the Pangwe
867 with respect to what he calls morality and order, will be reproduced here in the actual order in which the boys told them to me.

My father told me:

1. When I go on a journey, look after the chickens, dogs, and women for me, so that everything will be in good order when I return; then my heart will rejoice.

2. You should not tell others all the things that were confided to you, otherwise the man who has said them to you will be angry.

3. You shall listen to your father's words, because when you later marry a girl, your father will pay for her.

4. When I have visitors in my house and tell you to bring firewood, do it quickly; when I tell you to bring food for the guests, do it, or else your father will say of you, "You are like a chicken, a goat, or a dog -- I did not beget you!"

5. When you go to wrestle, you should muster your strength so that you will be the victor, for if others throw you, I shall be sad and will have to be ashamed.

6. If you have a sweetheart and she brings you food (Author's note: When the young man visits her), you must not eat up

861 867 everything right away, but /289/ modestly take two or three spoonfuls, for otherwise the girl will think that you are a real pig, and she will no longer love you.

7. If your father has many wives, industriously help him to clear large areas of the forest and prepare them for planting. Afterwards, the wives will then be able to plant a lot of food (bedzi). When my fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law (!) come for a visit, they must have ample food to eat. If they go to bed hungry, they will have a poor idea of our village and call it a miserable nest.

8. When strangers (guests) come and do not find me at home, entertain them just as if I were there and be in every way helpful; otherwise they will say that you have no breeding (plural, o seke mó[illegible] = you are no person = man).

9. If you are able to forge and if one of my brothers (that is, members of the kin group) comes and wants to have something made, make everything for him just as he desires it, and if a man from another family comes, do likewise, because you can never tell whether some day you might not marry a girl from that particular family. If you have done as I have advised you and you desire the daughter of the man or of one of his kin group for a wife, he will immediately and gladly have you since you have done him a good turn.

10. If you have seduced the wife of another man and the husband comes into my village and brings with him the medicine over which you must step (as a proof of truthfulness, see legal concepts), you will die. My son, this is a very bad matter! Remember that! It is better to admit the affair right away; I myself shall pay for you, that is nothing to you! I am not saying that you should seduce the wives of others, and so forth.

11. You must not be greedy for food (plural, akūɨ = avaricious with respect to food). If you are, everybody will laugh at you, and if you go to another place, you yourself will not get anything to eat.

12. If I have many daughters, you must learn to make their coiffures (ornamental coiffures), so that the girls will not go elsewhere to find a man who dresses hair, because girls as a rule do not like to go great distances.

13. Treat your (real) sister well! If she scolds you, leave her alone (that is, do not scold her in return); it is nothing to you! Do not beat her, either, because, after all, for the money that is paid for the marriage of your sister, you will in turn buy a wife for yourself. If you beat your sister, she may possibly die through sorcery (this means that in her anger over the maltreatment she might take her life, something which does indeed happen), and you will have no money and no wife, and people will not respect you, and so forth. /290/

14. If you are the older of two brothers and you are married and have a daughter, then do not marry another woman with the marriage portion that you get for the daughter; instead, leave the daughter (or the money) to your younger brother. If, as the eldest, you have acted in such a way, you will enjoy the same honor and respect among your brothers as your father does.

15. Your father tells you all these good /Fig. 87 appears here in the original text/ principles and bits of advice not in order to make you, his son, bad (that is, through lack of trust or lack of respect for him), nor does he do so in order to limit your freedom, but because he desires that you will not bring any unpleasantness (quarrels) into the house, which will harm him and you. For when I have paid two or three times, I will be tired of (disgusted with) these things, and it may not be long before I have no wife left in the village (that is, he would be a poor man, because wives mean money, and he would have spent all his money for the fines of his son).

The attentive reader, in looking through the earlier sections of this book, will not have failed to note the strict patriarchal tendency of the Pangwe. It is clear, therefore, that the father supervises the education of the child and especially of the adolescent boy. He does this in an ideal manner -- even among us it would be regarded as ideal -- by becoming his son's best friend and by supporting and advising him in all the important problems of life.

Of course, the mother is dear to the Negroes and cherished by them as she is everywhere else in the world, but natural respect and shame in her presence prohibit the son from telling her

868 857 524 Otherwise, children imitate in play almost everything that is strikingly done or made by adults. For instance, they make useful objects, such as knives and boxes of raffia pith and extremely charming little hide drums of wood or banana pith (Fig. 96). For the latter, a piece of rat's skin serves as the hide. The little Fang boy augments the popular banging noise at festivities with a device made of raffia pith for detonating powder (Fig. 97). Above all, we may not leave unmentioned the fact 867 524 857 that even children imitate a cult and, significantly enough, the cult of ancestor worship which we mentioned above as being of special importance. The ancestral figure is carved out of plantain pith by the children, and it wears a cap made of canna blossoms that are strung on little sticks. Only once did I see a figure made of wood. The ancestral skulls are replaced by -- monkeys' skulls. What a delightful spectacle such an innocent children's game would provide for the /298/ "initiated" European if he could observe it unseen.

We have already spoken in Volume II, page 105, of the imitation of family life in which small girls participate. In the main, the game corresponds to our "playing house." The boys endeavor by means of much screaming and activity to imitate the domineering father and try to drag the already quite rebellious "wives" around everywhere, to boss and bully them to their heart's content. The "child," a doll (mǭn-ekǭ'n = child made of plantain), Figure 98, the most important thing for the smaller girls, and it is always dragged along by the anxious mother and guarded and fed with great love. The doll is a simple roll of plantain pith set in a carrying band made of dry leaf sheaths of the plantain.

857 524 The slingshot, among other things, belongs to the fourth group, the games with toys (nžǒ'go ya dži'me), Figure 99. It consists of a stick to which a raffia pith rope is tied. At its free end the easily torn rope forms a noose in which a nut of the oil palm is placed. The slingshot is never used with hostile intent, say, in war games, but belongs solely to the group of games with toys, that is, they amuse themselves with this toy because of its peculiar effect. In using it, the stick is taken in hand, and the rock

101 [Geographic and Ethnographic Comment on the Lower Ogooué], Ann. de Géogr., No. 62, March 15, 1903.

" is a [67] corruption of the word mpanwe by which the tribes of the coast refer to the Fan." Among them are found the tribes of three great parent branches, the Betsi and the Nzaman of the Madzouna dialect, and the Make of the Maekina dialect. Their number has a [161] strong tendency to decrease due to continuous migration towards the sea, and above all due to lack of births and to stillbirths. There are 361 actually no villages except on the banks of the Ogooué and the Abanga, and in the valley of the Okano along the route that joins the river at Oyem; and a few hamlets of the Make in the interior near small Bakele settlements on the left bank. The whole region of the right bank is depopulated, and one finds no more than frequent patches of short, thick brush without trees, except for some banana trees which are traces of vanished former villages.

Beliefs

113 I. Concerning the origin of man, the elements. Whenever a [867] Pahouin recites his genealogy (every child is used to this from his early years, a survival of the need while traveling to make oneself known as a member of a tribe), he ends the list of his ancestors with: "X... son of Nzame," and adds a formula meaning "and the rooster crowed and I was not there." All the Pahouin now living thus claim a common ancestor, Nzame, to whom they attribute supernatural powers but whom they do not worship. This Nzame himself has four known ancestors: Meboere, Nkwa, Sokuma, and Mba Angwe. We have not been able to obtain any information about these, nor about the formula in which the rooster is mentioned [sic]. It seems that this is due to the ignorance of the natives rather than their ill will (many traditions were lost through contact with peoples met in the westward migration and especially through contact with Europeans), since the natives questioned quite voluntarily gave accounts of the life of Nzame as their fathers had described it to them.

596 conclusion that a substantial social framework did not exist. A report written at the beginning of the century notes the impossibility "of finding an embryo of organization," emphasizing that there exist only more or less extended "families."

596 ●867 In the past the educational system very early gave the young Fang an exact knowledge of his genealogy (abara). Father Trilles writes that "the young man is particularly taught the individual list of his ancestors, which only concerns the male generations, (for) the woman is ignored," and, moreover, she never receives such instruction. (2) By knowing the relationships within his

2. Father Trilles, Le totémisme chez les Fan [Totemism Among the Fang], notes on pp. 109, 111, 180.

paternal line, the individual knows to which fundamental groupings he belongs, which women are forbidden him, and what relations he should have with such-and-such individuals, both living and dead. By more and more distant links he attaches himself to groupings that are more and more widely extended and are of more and more ancient formation. The first of these [groups] in which he finds himself immediately entered is the nd'ɛ bɔt, a patrilocal group at the village level which often has its own locality and communal house, which gather together, under the authority of the "eldest," or ntɔl-mɔt, the latter's posterity, his younger brothers and their posterity, and sometimes that of his paternal uncles; in addition, the [posterity] of individuals who are tied to him by bonds of kinship, adoption, or friendship. The most extended of 619 these [groups] is the "tribe" (ayɔ̌g, formerly ayɔm, studied by Martrou and Trilles, whose origin is neither located nor dated, but simply legendary, and whose dispersed took place throughout nearly the whole of the Fang country. [102] The intermediate groupings spread out concentrically from one to the other; the relations existing between the individuals they contain are expressed by a "fraternity" that is less and less real and less and less binding.

We have kept the term "tribe," used by the first observers of the Fang, to designate this earliest formed grouping, which is

533 skits, often satirical, sometimes to the accompaniment of European tunes that have been adapted to the instrument. Choral song, finally, is very popular, using imported tunes that are often considerably improved by the native interpretation which makes extensive use of fugue and counterpoint. Unfortunately, these modern airs are not suited to the tonal system of the language, which they tend to impair when words are adapted to them.

538 173 827 Chronicles, minkaffete, of which the salutations, mebatan, were in a way summaries, were part of traditional training and were recited only on solemn occasions. They are falling into oblivion because of the considerable demands they made upon the memory and because of the time necessary for learning them by heart, without mentioning the fact that they contained incomprehensible passages, perhaps borrowed from tribes that were neighbors of the Pahouin before their great migration. /126/

177 538 The systems of transcription introduced by missionaries were first used to translate the Scriptures and to compose hymns, which have not always had a good effect upon the language but have nonetheless become classics in spite of the mistakes and improprieties they often contain. After these works produced by Europeans in the native language, there have appeared in rapid succession works composed by Pahouin writing in their own language. The most remarkable is without doubt Nnanga kôn by the Boulou, Jemba Medu, which describes Boulou life at the time of the arrival of the first white men (nnanga kôn = phantom albino). This, to my knowledge, is the only novel composed in one of the languages of the group; its popularity is prodigious, to such a degree that its characters have entered into contemporary Boulou folklore.

204 There is a missionary press in Gabon and in the Cameroons. The papers with the largest circulation are Nleb Bekristen (Christians' Guide) (Ewôndo, Catholic) and Mefoé (News) (Boulou, Protestant), which is read as far afield as Gabon. The lay press in French is not of much importance and its publications moreover are usually short lived.

536 A Pahouin literature in the French language is a recent — and significant — phenomenon. Oyono and Eza Boto-Mongo Beti are both from the Cameroons; neither Gabon nor Spanish Guinea have up to now produced a novelist.

535 The dance has lost a great deal in being deprived of its old ritual character. Formerly there was a specific dance for every ceremony,